

Message Text

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 3 KINSHASA 1520

FOR S, PA, AF

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: INTERVIEW REQUEST

1. EDITOR-IN-CHIEF AND DIRECTOR OF KINSHASA DAILY "ELIMA" CALLED ON PRESS ATTACHE TO DELIVER PERSONAL LETTER TO AMBASSADOR REQUESTING INTERVIEW WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER FOR NEXT ISSUE OF MONTHLY "ELIMA DIPLOMATIQUE" MAGAZINE TO BE DEVOTED TO SECRETARY "ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO ZAIRE".

2. EDITOR ESSOLAMWA NKOY EA LINGANGA ASKED FOR SECRETARY'S RESPONSES TO A TOTAL OF 15 QUESTIONS ON US RELATIONS WITH ZAIRE, AFRICA, EUROPE, USSR AND CHINA. EDITION WOULD PROBABLY COME OUT IN MARCH.

3. WE HAVE NEITHER CONFIRMED NOR DENIED TO "ELIMA" POSSIBILITY OF VISIT BY THE SECRETARY AND WE DID NOT PROMISE THAT THE SECRETARY WOULD ACCEDE TO THE INTERVIEW EITHER IN WRITING OR IN PERSON. WE SIMPLY AGREED TO PASS THE REQUEST ALONG. WE BELIEVE HOWEVER THAT THE IDEA OF A WRITTEN INTERVIEW WITH "ELIMA" IS A GOOD ONE, WHETHER OR NOT THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TAKES PLACE.

4. THE QUESTIONS ARE WIDE-RANGING AND ECLECTIC, BUT THEY PROVIDE AN INSIGHT INTO THE TYPE OF QUESTIONS THE SECRETARY MIGHT

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BE ASKED BY KINSHASA MEDIA WERE SUCH A MEETING TO BE ARRANGED

DURING THE PROPOSED VISIT.

5. EDITOR-IN-CHIEF ESSOLOMWA SAID "ELIMA" WOULD BE PREPARED TO RECEIVE RESPONSES THROUGH DEPARTMENT CHANNEL OR WOULD SEND A REPORTER TO WASHINGTON FOR THE INTERVIEW IF DESIRED.

6. POST HAS PREPARED DRAFT RESPONSES FOR THE TWO AREAS OF MOST IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO "ELIMA DIPLOMATIQUE". THESE CONCERN US RELATIONS WITH ZAIRE AND AFRICA.

A. US - ZAIRIAN RELATIONS:

(1)Q-MR. SECRETARY, YOUR COUNTRY IS A LONG-TIME SUPPORTER OF THE PUBLIC OF ZAIRE. WOULD YOU DRAW UP A BALANCE SHEET OF AMERICAN-ZAIRIAN COOPERATION?

A- FOR THE PAST TEN YEARS, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ZAIRE HAVE BEEN CLOSE AND CORDIAL. THE STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF ZAIRE IS OF PIVOTAL IMPORTANCE, NOT ONLY TO CENTRAL AFRICA, BUT FOR THE ENTIRE CONTINENT. WE HAVE SOUGHT THROUGH THE YEARS TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TOWARD THE BRINGING ABOUT OF THIS STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT. AT THIS MOMENT, WE ARE SUPPORTING A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, INCLUDING PROJECTS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, MORE THAN 200 PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS AND AN ON-GOING PROGRAM OF CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES. FURTHERMORE, PRESIDENT FORD HAS REQUESTED ADDITIONAL FUNDS TO HELP ZAIRE THROUGH WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE A TEMPORARY ECONOMIC CRISIS.

(2) Q- YOU MET GENERAL MOBUTU IN 1973 IN NEW YORK. CONSIDERING THAT YOU WILL SOON BE HIS GUEST, WHAT IMPRESSION DO YOU HOLD OF HIM AS A STATESMAN?

A- OUR MEETING IN 1973 WAS UNFORTUNATELY ALL TOO BRIEF. I SHARE THE OPINION, HOWEVER, OF PRESIDENT FORD, WHO RECENTLY EXPRESSED HIS "GREAT ADMIRATION" FOR PRESIDENT MOBUTU AND THE POLITICAL COURAGE, INTELLIGENCE AND LEADERSHIP HE HAS DEMONSTRATED AS PRESIDENT-FOUNDER OF THE POPULAR MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION AND PRESIDENT OF ZAIRE.

(3) Q- WHAT MEANING, MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU GIVE TO YOUR AFRICAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TOUR -- AND PARTICULARLY TO YOUR VISIT TO ZAIRE?

A- IN DECEMBER OF LAST YEAR, AT THE "NORTH-SOUTH" CONFERENCE IN PARIS, I CALLED FOR A NEW DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND IN THIS NEW DIALOGUE, I STATED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE AFRICAN CONTINENT MUST PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE. LESS THAN A MONTH AFTER MY ADDRESS IN PARIS, I MET WITH THE AMBASSADORS OF 7 AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN

WASHINGTON. MY AFRICAN VISIT IS LONG OVERDUE, BUT THE DELAY HAS NOT BEEN BECAUSE OF NELECT, BUT RATHER OF THE NEED TO FOCUS ON OTHER CRITICAL PROBLEM AREAS AND/OR ISSUES. IN ANY EVENT, THIS VISIT TAKES PLACE AT A PARTICULARLY OPPORTUNE TIME. THE ADMINISTRATION, THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE INTERESTED IN WHAT IS HAPPENING IN AFRICA, AND, OF COURSE, IN ZAIRE. YOUR COUNTRY IS A MAJOR FACTOR ON THE CONTINENT AND MOST ASSUREDLY IN CENTRAL AFRICA. I COULD NOT VISIT AFRICA, THEREFORE, WITHOUT VISITING ZAIRE.

B. US-AFRICA RELATIONS:

(4) Q - FOR SOME TIME, THE US HAS CUT BACK ITS AID TO THE THIRD WORLD. SOME QUESTION WHETHER THIS IS A HARBINGER OF A LACK OF INTEREST IN AFRICA ON THE PART OF THE US. ALL THE MORE SO NOW THAT ANGOLA IS PRACTICALLY OCCUPIED BY SOVIET-CUBAN FORCES. THE AMERICAN REACTIONS CONSIST OF SHORT-LIVED CALLS FOR ORDER. IT WILL EVEN BE PERHAPS THE SAME IF THE SOVIET UNION PREYS UPON THE WESTERN SAHARA. NOW, DOES THIS MEAN THAT THE US HAS ADOPTED A NEW STRATEGY AT THE EXPENSE OF AFRICA, IN THE SENSE THAT AFRICAN RESISTANCE TO SOVIET DICTATES IS DOOMED TO FAILURE BECAUSE OF AMERICAN CONCESSIONS OF WHICH AFRICA WOULD BE THE OBJECT?

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(A) AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD ANGOLA IS A CONTINUATION OF THE POLICY THE UNITED STATES HAS LONG FOLLOWED WITH RESPECT TO THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. WE HAVE SOUGHT WAYS TO KEEP GREAT-POWER RIVALRIES OUT OF AFRICA. WE BELIEVE IN THE NON-VIOLENT RESOLUTION OF AFRICAN

PROBLEMS BY AFRICANS. THROUGHOUT THE TROUBLED HISTORY OF ANGOLA, THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED THIS PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION BY PEACEFUL MEANS. WE STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICA UNITY'S EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE ANGOLAN PROBLEM. IN ADDITION, WE HAVE REPEATEDLY WARNED THE SOVIET UNION THAT THE PRESENCE OF ITS MILITARY ADVISORS, SOME 12,000 CUBAN SOLDIERS AND THE MORE THAN \$200 MILLION IN MILITARY HARDWARE IT HAS PROVIDED WAS CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF DETENTE AND COULDN'T BE CONDONED.

THE PROCESS BY WHICH AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IS FORMULATED IS A COMPLEX TASK, AS YOU KNOW. MANY DIFFERENT FORCES MUST COME INTO PLAY; THE CONGRESS, THE PRESIDENT AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THE INTERACTION OF THESE FORCES SOMETIMES PRODUCES A DIFFERENT RESULT THAN WOULD BE DESIRED BY THE PRESIDENT OR MYSELF AS HIS SECRETARY OF STATE, BUT THESE FORCES MUST BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION AND WORKED WITH.

(5) Q - IN ASIA, THE US HAS ABANDONED CAMBODIA AND VIETNAM TO THEMSELVES. THIS SURRENDER HAS STIRRED UP THE OPINION OF ITS ALLIES. IN AFRICA, ANGOLA IS AT THE MERCY OF MOSCOW. IT IS TRUE THAT PRESIDENT FORD IS DOING ALL HE CAN TO MAKE CONGRESS UNDERSTAND THE ROLE THAT THE US MUST PLAY IN CENTRAL AFRICA AND PRE-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CISELY IN ANGOLA. BUT THE INDIFFERENCE WITH WHICH HE IS CONFRONTED STRENGTHENS FREEDOM-LOVING AFRICANS IN THE CONVICTION THAT THE ASSISTANCE OF THE UNITED STATES CAN NO LONGER BE COUNTED UPON. THIS SITUATION TENDS TO FAVOR COOPERATION WITH THE USSR. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT AMERICAN INDIFFERENCE TO THE CALL OF AFRICA IS THE RESULT OF THE COMMUNIST LOBBY WITHIN CONGRESS, THE ISOLATIONIST SPIRIT THAT CONGRESS WANTS TO STAMP ON THE US, ELECTION CALCULATIONS OR OPPOSITION TO PRESIDENT FORD?

A- I WOULD NOT SAY THAT AMERICA IS INDIFFERENT TO "THE CALL OF AFRICA." SINCE THE 1960S, THE UNITED STATES HAS PROVIDED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, THROUGH THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS, ON A BI- OR MULTI-LATERAL BASIS, TO MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO HELP BECOME MORE SELF-SUFFICIENT. AMERICAN PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN BLACK AFRICA HAS INCREASED DRAMATICALLY IN THE PAST DECADE EACH YEAR, MORE AND MORE AMERICANS VISIT AFRICA; THE NUMBER OF CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES INCREASES YEARLY. CLEARLY, ALL THIS BEARS WITNESS TO THE CONTINUING AMERICAN INTEREST IN AFRICA. HOWEVER, AT THIS TIME IN THE UNITED STATES, THE VIVID MEMORY OF THE PROBLEMS BROUGHT ON BY OUR INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM IS CAUSING MANY AMERICANS TO SHUN INVOLVEMENT OUTSIDE OUR NATIONAL BOUNDARIES. EVEN THOUGH VIETNAM AND ANGOLA ARE MARKEDLY DISSIMILAR, THE PUBLIC AND THE CONGRESS HAVE REACTED STRONGLY TO THE QUESTION OF WHAT ROLE THE UNITED STATES SHOULD TAKE TOWARD THE ANGOLAN PROBLEM.

(6) Q - AND IF CONGRESS LEADS THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE PASSIVITY FAVORABLE TO SOVIET EXPANSION, COULD ONE SPEAK AGAIN OF A BALANCE AND WHAT CREDIBILITY WOULD THERE STILL BE, ACCORDING TO YOU, FOR THIS GOVERNMENT IN ITS RELATIONS WITH ITS PARTNERS IN THE WORLD?

A - THE UNITED STATES HAS ALWAYS BEEN A FORCE FOR WHAT IS RIGHT IN THE WORLD. THE DEBATE GOING ON PRESENTLY IN THE UNITED STATES IS A DEBATE TO DETERMINE WHAT IS "RIGHT", TO DECIDE WHAT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD BE. THIS IS NOT AN ISOLATED EVENT. THE DIALOGUE AND INTERACTION BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES, HOWEVER INCOMPREHENSIBLE IT MAY APPEAR AT TIMES TO FOREIGN AUDIENCES, IS AN ACCEPTED PART OF OUR POLITICAL LIFE. IT DOES NOT NECESSARILY RESULT IN AN IMMEDIATE ANSWER; IT ALMOST ALWAYS LEADS TO A NATIONAL CONSENSUS, A KEYSTONE OF ANY FOREIGN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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POLICY.

7. REMAINDER OF QUESTIONS ARE:

C. U.S.-EUROPE RELATIONS:

(7) ONE WITNESSES FROM DAY TO DAY A MOVEMENT OF WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES WHICH TENDS TO RENOUNCE THE PRINCIPLE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT TO FORM WHAT IS ALREADY BEING CALLED "EURO-COMMUNISM". DESPITE THE PREOCCUPATION ON THIS SUBJECT OF THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES MEETING AT WARSAW, YOU HAVE COUNSELED US ALLIES AGAINST COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN WESTERN GOVERNMENTS BECAUSE IT WOULD BE DISADVANTAGEOUS TO NATO. DOES YOUR OPINION SIGNIFY A DISTRUST FOR WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES WHO MIGHT CHOOSE SUCH TRICKERY TO GAIN POWER AND TO RECONCILE THEMSELVES LATER WITH THE USSR? IF NOT, ON WHAT DO YOU BASE YOUR OPINION?

(8) IN EUROPE, THE PREVAILING OPINION NOW IS THAT THE SOVIET NAVY CONSTITUTES A NEW FACTOR IN EUROPEAN SECURITY. IN EFFECT, THE THERMO-NUCLEAR CAPACITY OF THE TWO SUPER POWERS APPROACHES PARITY, WHILE THE LAND AND AERIAL CAPABILITIES OF THE EAST AND WEST HAVE KNOWN NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGES. BUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET NAVAL POWER IS EVEN MORE DISTURBING BECAUSE THE SOVIET NAVY HAS ABANDONED ITS TRADITIONAL ROLE AS A COASTAL GUARDIAN TO BECOME, UNDER THE STIMULUS OF ADMIRAL GRETSCHKOV, A STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE INSTRUMENT WHICH ENABLES THE SOVIET UNION TO CONTROL THE OCEANS, TO THREATEN DIRECTLY THEUS AND TO DISTURB THE SHIPPING OF AMERICAN REINFORCEMENTS INDISPENSABLE TO THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE. DO YOU SHARE THIS EUROPEAN ANXIETY? IF NOT, WHY?

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(9) GERMANY, OF WHICH A THIRD OF THE POPULATION AND A QUARTER OF

ITS ECONOMIC POTENTIAL IS LOCATED ALONG THE LINE WHERE THE
WARSAW PACT TROOPS ARE MASSED AS PUBLISHED A WHITE PAPER ON
SECURITY. DO YOU SHARE THE GERMAN VIEWS?

(10) THE AMERICAN PRESS HAS SET THE TONE IN DENOUNCING THE
ACTIVITIES OF THE CIA. NOW TWO EUROPEAN PRESS HAS FOLLOWED.
WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE FUTURE OF THE CIA

D. US-USSR RELATIONS:

(11) DESPITE THE EFFORTS BEING MADE BY THE US, WORLD POLITICAL OBSER-
VERS NOTICE THAT THE DIPLOMACY OF DETENTE HAS NOT GIVEN THE
HOPED-FOR RESULTS. THE GERMAN WHITE PAPER ADVISES COMBINING THIS
DIPLOMACY WITH CAUTION AND MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS. SOVIET-
AMERICAN RELATIONS ARE FULL OF SOVIET FAITS ACCOMPLIS. DESPITE
THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT THE USSR HAS NOT PERMITTED ITS CITIZENS
WHO WISH TO VISIT THE WEST, TO STAY OR TO RECEIVE SCIENTIFIC
PRIZES. MOREOVER, DESPITE THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND THE
THREE ANGOLAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE PROCEDURE OF GOVERNING
ANGOLA, THE USSR, CONCERNED WITH THE STRATEGY OF ADMIRAL
GRESCHOV, HAS COMMITTED AGGRESSION AGAINST THIS YOUNG STATE.
ALL THAT CONSTITUTES A VIOLATION OF THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF
DETENTE. WILL THE US LIMIT ITSELF TO DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS OR TO
SHORT-LIVED PROTESTS TO MAKE DETENTE BE RESPECTED?

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(12) THE SALT II NEGOTIATION WERE SUSPENDED DURING YOUR MOSCOW VISIT FOR ALMOST SIX HOURS TO PERMIT THE SOVIET POLITBUREAU TO EXAMINE THE NEW AMERICAN PROPOSITIONS. IT APPEAR THAT THERE IS A WILLINGNESS TO REACH THIS AGREEMENT BUT THAT NUMEROUS POINTS REMAIN IN SUSPENSE. HOW DO YOU SEE THE RAPPROACHEMENT OF THE VIEWPOINTS ON THE ISSUES OF DISAGREEMENT?

E. US-CHINA RELATIONS:

(13) EMERGENCE OF CHINA HAS LED TO TALK ABOUT THREE POLES OF WORLD POWER. AND THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA, NEIGHBOR OF THE USSR, DENOUNCES THE SOVIET IMPERIALIST PLAN WHICH COM-PROMISES DETENTE. WHAT ARE THE ELEMENTS WHICH ENABLE YOU TO CONTRADICT THE CHINESE VIEWPOINT ON THIS SUBJECT?

(14) HOW DO YOU BELIEVE THE USSR WOULD BEHAVE IF EUROPE AND THE US STRENGTHENED THEIR RELATIONS WITH CHINA?

(15) WHAT IS THE STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND JAPAN AFTER THE RECENT FORD-HIROHITO MEETING?

8. IF INTERVIEW REQUEST IS ACCEPTED, WE WOULD ASK THAT DEPARTMENT AND REPLY THROUGH THIS EMBASSY IN BOTH FRENCH AND ENGLISH. USIA AFRICAN PRESS SERVICE (IPS/PA) MIGHT ASSIST WITH FRENCH TRANSLATION.
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